

From: Ranginui Walker's Opotiki MaiTawhiti: Capital of Whakatohea: The Story of Whakatohea's struggle during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Penguin,2007,North Shore page 78

Pai Marire For the tribes affected by Military invasion in Taranaki, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty, the loss of land by confiscation bred widespread disaffection [unhappiness and discontent] with the Crown [British Government representatives in NZ]. That ...translated into a continuation of the struggle against British imperialism [the spread of an empire's control and culture over another] in ...hitandrun tactics of guerilla warfare [small sneaky fighting rather than large armies going up against each other]. In the vanguard [background/rear] was Te Ua Haumene, who had fought beside Wiremu Kingi in Taranaki. Te Ua realised that the superior numbers and firepower at General Cameron's command could not be countered [stopped] by direct confrontation. A new synthesis [mix of ideas] was needed, and to this end Te Ua assumed the role of prophet. His objective was to unify the tribes as a precondition [starting point] to renewing the struggle against the Crown. Te Ua communed [spoke] with his new god, Te Atua Pai Marire (the Lord Good and Peaceful). He claimed visitations from the Angel Gabriel, who revealed a vision of himself surrounded by all the tribes. Converts worshipped around a niu pole with a crosstree rigged like a ship's mast and it had guy ropes which enabled the prophet to send and receive messages from his god. Worshippers were to be endowed with the gift of tongues [spiritual language] and the knowledge of science. Once all the tribes were converted then the Pakeha could be overcome. Followers of the cult were promised immunity [to be safe from] Pakeha bullets by chanting "Hapa Pai Marire Hau! Hau!" This chant gave the Pai Marire cult its more common name Hauhau. The Hauhau Rebellion began on 6 April 1864 with an ambush in which seven troops of the 57th Regiment were killed and decapitated [had their heads chopped off]. The head of Captain Lloyd, one of the victims, was smokedried and taken from village to village as a sign of success and to recruit followers to the cause. [We're smoken' 'em..sorry couldn't help myself]. Among the leading emissaries [representatives] for the Hauhau were Patara Rakatauri and Kereopa Te Rau. Te Ua instructed Patara and Kereopa to travel from Waitotara inland to Pipiriki, on to Taupo then into the Urewera and across to the East Coast to teach the Pai Marire faith. The final objective was to meet with and convert the paramount chief Hirini Te Kaniatani. They were to behave correctly and with circumspection [think before they act] at all times in spreading Te Ua's teachings of the new religion. The cult gained such a following from disaffected [unhappy] tribes that the Hauhau rivalled the King Movement as a focus of Maori resistance to European domination. On arrival at Whakatane, Kereopa demanded that Ngati Awa hand over their Catholic priest to him. Pending Ngati Awa's reply, Kereopa decided to go to Opotiki. According to Cowan's 2 account in The New Zealand Wars, two Whakatohea chiefs, Mokomoko and Te Hura, joined Patara and Kereopa at Whakatane and went with them to Opotiki. ...Mokomoko's collaboration with the Hauhau is refuted [opposed] by Mokomoko's account: Wepiha, Kereopa and Patara we heard were coming to Opotiki, and never raised my hand or voice against any European. We were afraid of the war party and left our settlement which was on the road by which they were to pass and came to Opotiki" (Mokomoko's testimony to George Graham cited in R. Boast to Hon. G. Palmer, Wellington 17 July 1990.) Mokomoko was born in Opotiki, which was his main place of

residence. He was a leading member of the section of Ngati Patu living there. Mokomoko used to visit his father, Te Kaupua, at Waiaua up to the time that he was killed by Ngati Maru at Te Papa. According to evidence given in the Native Land Court, Mokomoko married Te Manawa of Upokorehe when that hapu was living at Hikutaia. How much credence [we can believe it] can be placed on this evidence is unclear, because the Mokomoko family tree cites their ancestor as having three wives, Kimihia, Horianana and Horotipa. From the third wife, Horotipa, descended Mokomoko's grandson Hakeke and greatgreatgreatson Tuiringa who figure in the alter history of Whakatohea. Te Patunga o Te Wakana During the Waikato War, Reverend Carl Volkner wrote seven letters to Government Grey, keeping him informed of warrior numbers and the movements of the Tai Rawhiti expedition. One letter dated 16 February 1864 reveals Volkner's role as an informer to the Governor and his [Volkner's] awareness of the danger of his actions to himself: Sir, As there is no Government agent in my district to inform you of the movements of the natives here, I think I should be wanting in my duty if I did not make known to you what happens around me relating to the present disturbed state of the natives. But as I have reason to fear that it would interfere with my future usefulness in the cause in which I am engaged [converting Maori to Anglican Christianity] if it were publicly known that I gave such information to you, I therefore humbly but earnestly request your Excellency to receive my accompanying letters as private communications to yourself, and not publish my name or abode [where I live] with any information you wish to make use of. My brotherinlaw REv. T. Lanfear, had some unpleasantness with his natives because his name was published with some information he gave [about] them. And I know that, besides the people who sail in the coasting vessels [boats that sail around the coastline] there are agents among the natives who snatch up everything that can be turned against their missionaries, and use every opportunity to raise the native suspicion against us," [Volkner to Governor Grey, 16 February 1864, Opotiki Museum. Another letter, dated 26 February 1864, indicates the military nature of the intelligence [information] that Volkner was sending to Grey: 3 Sir, Whilst I write this, a party of 20 men from Kawhia have come here on their way to the east to get powder. This is the third party from Kawhia who have come through here from that purpose during the last six months. It is my humble opinion that it would be advisable strictly to blockade, if not the whole coast of the Bay of Plenty, at least places like this where they are so unanimous in their opposition to the Government..." ibid, 26th February, 1864. In 1864 Volkner made several trips to Auckland. AT this point Volkner's intelligencegathering for the Governor intersected [ran up against] with the work of CATHOLIC priest FATHER Garavel. Garavel travelled widely between Opotiki and Gisborne. AS there was no postal service, ...priests often delivered letters between communities. One letter, unwittingly [by accident] carried Garavel, [pleaded] Whakatohea to support the Tainui people against the British. Volkner wrote to Governor Grey on 4 February 1864 that GARavel had carried the letter from Tainui to Whakatohea. Grey contacted Garavel's [bosses] and he was summoned to Auckland. Although Grey accepted Garavel's explanation that he knew nothing of the contents of the letter, he insisted that GARavel 'not be sent back to the theatre of war, but kept in Auckland". Sections of Whakatohea were displeased with Volkner over the removal of Garavel from Opotiki. Thereafter they remained suspicious of him. As the Hauhau [uprising against the Government] spread, Volkner knew he was at risk for collaborating with the Governor. As a precaution he took his wife to Auckland for safety early in 1865. Several people in Whakatohea

warned Volkner not to come back to Opotiki. Whakatohea were in a disturbed state following the debacle of the Tai Rawhiti expedition. They were dispirited by defeat at Kaokaoroa and the loss of their leading chief, Te Aporotanga. Involvement in the war also had economic consequences. Planting crops was neglected when warriors went off to war so there was a shortage of food on their return. To add to Whakatohea's miseries, there was an epidemic of typhoid fever and measles that carried off 150 people. Whakatohea morale was low when Patara and Kereopa arrived at Opotiki on Saturday 25 February accompanied by approximately 190 people. The visitors were welcomed by upwards of 800 people from Whakatohea. The Pai Marire contingent numbered 40. They were unarmed according to TE Ua's instructions that theirs was a peaceful mission of conversion [getting people to join their religion and movement]. [Adding] to the numbers was a group of around 150 people from Whakatane, led by Wepiha Te Pono. Kereopa addressed the assembly saying that he came to teach the new religion and that Whakatohea should forsake [give up] the missionaries because they had come only to take land. That, Whakatohea understood, but Kereopa's suggestion that Europeans in Opotiki Joseph Jeans, Dr Agassiz, W. Hooper and Samuel Levy should be expelled was rejected. [This was because] Levy brought trade to Opotiki, and Jeans and Agassiz (and probably Hooper) had Maori wives. 4 The next day Patara and Kereopa began teaching about the Pai Marire faith, a ...mix of ...the Old Testament, Christianity and Maori ritual.. Patara, who was the more moderate of the two leaders, wrote a letter to Volkner warning him not to return to Opotiki. Whether the letter was sent or received is not known. It was unfortunate for Whakatohea that Patara went on to Torere to persuade Ngai Tai to join him. Patara's departure gave Kereopa free reign in Opotiki. Kereopa was impatient. He contradicted Te Ua's instructions of converting the tribes [to Pai Marire] first to achieve unification. For him, conversion and revolution synonymous [the same thing.] Kereopa belonged to the Ngati Rangiwhewehi people of Te Arawa. Ironically, Kereopa's role in embroiling Whakatohea in the events that followed was created in part by longstanding tribal enmity between Ngati Rangiwhewehi and Whakatohea. By recruiting Whakatohea to the Hauhau cause and [getting] them to revolt, Kereopa knew that the Crown would punish his allies and in doing so settle an old score against a tribal enemy [Whakatohea]. He also had a score to settle against Europeans. Kereopa's resentment against Europeans was roused by an incident at Rangiaowhia during the Waikato War. Rangiaowhia was a prosperous agricultural district, the home of Ngati Apakura and breadbasket [cereal crops] of the Waikato. Rangiaowhia was thought to be a safe haven where the Tainui tribes sent their noncombatants old men, women and children away from the fortifications of the Paterangi line. General Cameron's forces bypassed the Paterangi line and attacked Rangiaowhia. On Sunday 21 February 1864, while villagers were at worship in a raupo whare, soldiers surrounded the building and raked it with gunfire. The whare was set alight by the troops. As the fire took hold an old chief clothed in a white blanket came out to surrender. He was shot dead. All the people inside perished among the victims were Kereopa's two daughters. According to a trooper who was present at Rangiaowhia, Captain Wilson ordered Corporal McHale to make prisoners of people inside the whare. McHale entered the whare and two shots were fired. Wilson went and saw McHale lying prone on the floor. He backed out and exclaimed that McHale had been shot, whereupon the troopers riddled the house with gunfire. Another shot was fired from the whare and when the inmates did not surrender when called upon to do so the house was set on fire. A

man came out of the hut, his blanket singed on his back. He 'fell' within ten paces of the door. Despite the differing accounts of this event, its aftermath was disillusionment with Christianity which taught its Maori converts that Sunday, the day of worship, was sacrosanct [sacred] and should not be sullied by secular [political] activities. The deaths at Rangiaowhia were deemed to be an atrocity that needed to be redressed. Distaste for the Anglican Church was further[ed] by reports that Bishop Selwyn had been seen administering to the British troops during the Waikato Campaign. Maori were disappointed with Selwyn's partisan [taking sides] behaviour. Kereopa in particular saw the church as an enemy aligned with the British forces. Ministers were no longer safe from Kereopa's thirst for revenge. Kereopa's antimissionary influence even converted one of Volkner's deacons, Timoti TE Kaka, to the Hauhau cause.